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The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

Second Year

February, 1915

Number Eight

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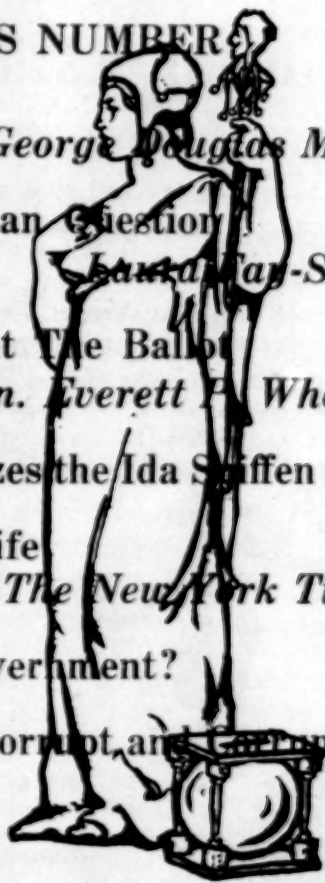
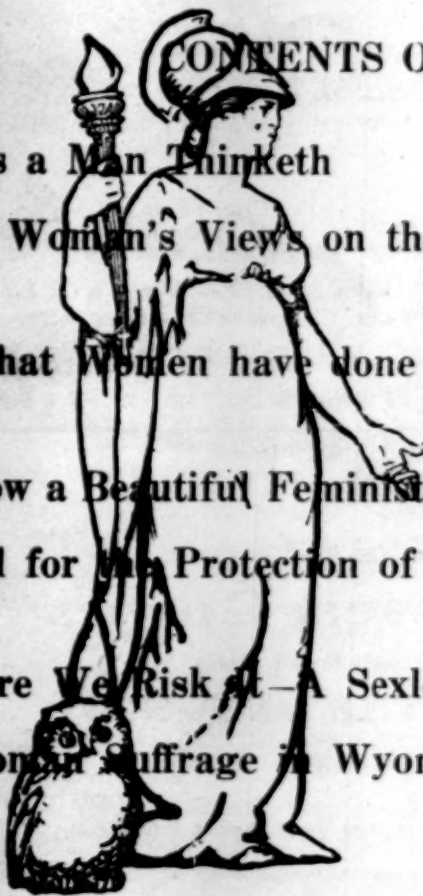
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The Reply desires to enable canvassers to make money, perhaps not much but some, canvassing for subscriptions. Anti-suffragists everywhere are invited to think of this, and to send the names and addresses of any one who might like to help the cause and themselves at the same time. Please address Business Manager, The Reply, 27 William Street, New York.

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Edited and Published by Helen S. Harman-Brown

PUBLISHED MONTHLY, AT 27 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Subscription Price: \$1 Per Year; 10 Cents the Copy

Entered as second-class matter May 9, 1914, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of March 3, 1879

The Reply is on sale at Brentano's, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street, New York,
and at Brentano's, Twelfth and F Streets, Washington

Editorial Notes

THE REPLY urges its readers not to be deceived by the "discouragement talk" of the Suffragists. They have realized that a strong point had been made against them for having so much money to spend and for permitting so much to be made of that fact publicly. Thus, it is most natural that they should be pleading poverty in as many noticeable ways as possible, while at the same time keeping up the pace with all the money that they have and all that they can get.

It seems that Miss Florence Guernsey will be a friend of man if nobody else will. She gave a party at the play "Polygamy" recently, and between the acts made a little statement about the line from the play, "All men are polygamists by nature," calling it a misstatement.

A specially attractive suffragist lobbyist appears to have been interviewing Mr. Bryan and Mr. Daniels (two members of Mr. Wilson's cabinet) on a recent day. Mr. Bryan made a really statesmanlike remark when he said, "If

woman could only convert her own sisters to the idea, the rest would be easy." And Mr. Daniels also gave another fine imitation of a statesman being interviewed by a suffragist lobbyist when he said, "Since woman made all the rest of the world so acceptable and well, I don't see why she couldn't run a battleship."

According to head-lines in the suffragette *Tribune*, Dr. Davis, Commissioner of Correction, "urges leisure and rum instead of workhouse," saying that a place in the almshouse with a good drunk every six months at the city's expense would be the best thing for old offenders.

No discrimination as to sex appears to be involved herein.

Among the hundreds of arguments against female suffrage which doubtless have been sent to Hon. Lemuel E. Quigg at his Columbia County farm we quote only this:

The suggestion that a woman who pays a tax upon property is entitled to vote because she is taxed is obviously fallacious. It is based upon the exploded idea that the ownership of property is a proper qualification for

suffrage. That idea is essentially un-American, and has been pretty generally repudiated in this country for nearly a hundred years. About a century ago a property qualification was generally required for the exercise of suffrage. A man who owned no property could not vote. This was seen to be inconsistent with republican and democratic principles, and consequently manhood suffrage was adopted. To give a wealthy woman a vote and to deny a vote to a poor woman would be an unjust discrimination against the latter. If ownership of property should *per se* give a right to vote, wealthy aliens ought to be allowed to vote; and a man owning property in a dozen or more states should be allowed a vote in each state.

Socialists continue to declare their undying devotion to the cause of female suffragism. A well-known Socialist organ tells its readers that Socialism is impossible without woman suffrage. The *New York Call*, organ of the Socialists, says:

"The fight for woman suffrage (in New York) is bound to be an exceptionally hard one, but it is a fight which must be won, and on none does the responsibility for success fall more heavily than upon the Socialists. And the time for Socialists to begin this great campaign to which they are morally pledged is now. Socialists, remember that the mobilizing for the woman suffrage fight in New York State takes place to-day!"

The admirable Dr. Davis, Commissioner of Correction for New York, discusses something, and then asks, "Why should we not be partners in this?" Oh, Dr. Davis, this is so sudden!

"The laws which men have made for the protection of both men and women in their several and respective rights in this state," says the *New York Evening Sun*, "are pretty fully understood to be inclusive, far sighted and practical. They represent the liberal and high-minded attitude of civilized communities toward

all citizens, of both sexes. In no other state is public sentiment more generous toward women; nowhere is women's influence more cogent and stronger, nowhere is respect for women held to be a greater duty and more practical test of civilization; nowhere is it more clearly shown. The male citizens of this state honor their womankind, and are at one with them in the constructive effort for the general good."

Justice Guy tells the Suffragists that it won't be long before the house-wives introduce the eight-hour day. We hasten to advise "Gentle Reader" that this is not the guy that put the sigh in psychology.

The suffragist lobby of Kansas—being an outside lobby, owing to the fact that all of the woman suffragist candidates for membership in the Legislature were defeated—will frequent the corridors of the Capitol a good deal of the time, nevertheless, and one of the reforms which "it" will urge will be "the mental and physical examination of both bride and bridegroom (intending bride and intending bridegroom?) before the marriage license can be granted," thus making short work of the king of hearts.

The impulse of certain rich women, mostly members of women's clubs, we believe, to erect a \$100,000 hotel for working girls is a generous one and ought to be commended. We would urge, however, that a rather careful examination of the prospects for such an institution be made before too much money has been spent upon the project. A. T. Stewart will still be remembered as a great New York merchant and organizer. He built a hotel for the working

girls, but he could not make them inhabit it. It appeared that they were quite satisfied to be working girls or shop girls all day long; in the evenings, and on Sundays and holidays, they preferred to mingle with some of the other elements of society. Hon. John Wanamaker, also known as a leading merchant and organizer with a big store in Philadelphia as well as New York, went to great trouble and expense to provide a hotel for the working girls in Philadelphia, but his attempt to encourage them to use it was a failure. It was enough for them to be working girls or shop girls all day long. On Sundays and holidays and in the evening they desired a change of society. Why should they not have a change of society, or at least be free to try for a change of society, if they desired it? Mr. Stewart and Mr. Wanamaker came to agree that it was no more than fair that they should live where they pleased. There was nothing else to do about it, anyway.

The Public Interests League of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association has already sent off more than 20,000 garments to the war sufferers in Europe. More than a thousand women volunteers have worked at the league rooms, and relief work has been started and directed in about 300 places.

Already it is proposed by Mrs. Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) to start schools for suffrage watchers throughout the state in order that the opponents of female suffrage may not perpetrate any election frauds next fall!

The editor of the *Woman's Journal*, as perhaps it is not surprising to note, seeks to perpetuate the ancient fake

about Lincoln's advocacy of female suffrage. Alice Hunt Bartlett refers to this in a letter to the *New York World*:

"The trouble is, they always fail to give the full quotation. His statement concerning suffrage appeared in the *New Salem Journal* of June 13, 1836. The words were written when Lincoln was less than twenty-seven years of age, before he was admitted to the bar, and were as follows: 'I go for all sharing the privileges of the Government who assist in bearing its burdens; consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms, by no means excluding females.' There is no record of his having mentioned woman suffrage at any other time.

"Mr. Lincoln's youthful statement has no application to the question of woman suffrage which is before the voters of New York to-day, which is whether the vote shall be placed in the hands of all the women in New York, irrespective of the question whether they bear arms or pay taxes.

"None bear arms, and so few pay taxes that their percentage is negligible. Less than one-half of 1 per cent of all the men and women in America are subject to the Federal income tax, and doubtless the vast majority of this small percentage are men.

"Abraham Lincoln was therefore opposed to the present demand for conferring the right of suffrage upon all the women of this State."

If the votes-for-women propagandists who tell the unfortunates of the bread lines that female suffrage will supply them all with employment and with bread, and many of the comforts of life in addition, and all this can be done without too much delay, a great reform will have been brought about.

The following appears as a letter in the *New York Tribune*; it is doubtful if in any other times than feminist times anything of the kind could be written seriously or printed at all:

Sir: Is it customary and seemly to give the name of a wedded wife to a woman who is

the mistress of the wife's husband? Even if the man maintains for his mistress a separate establishment, it would seem that as long as he has a legal wife that wife should have exclusive use of his name. To give the wife's name promiscuously cheapens the tie and vulgarizes marriage. It would seem that society and the courts and professional men and the papers should unite to keep up our none too lofty standards of life.

It is only natural that the correspondent of a New York paper who calls the Savior the first suffragist should hide under the signature of her initials.

Miss Alice Filmore, a New Jersey lawyer and suffragist, has made the important discovery that the Constitution of the United States does not give women the right to vote, and the Constitution is, therefore, violated every time the women vote, even when the states pass suffrage laws.

There seems to be some legal red tape, says the *Woman's Journal*, to prevent Suffragists insuring their cause in New York State against defeat next fall. But it is a different matter in England. There Suffragists will take out their policy with Lloyd's as soon as the latter can receive their premium rate from their headquarters in London. In case they win they will not mind the premium, and if they lose, the money will be used for the new campaign.

We refer again to the successful and necessary activities of the Man's Association opposed to female suffrage, because of the circumstance that the state and the country are full of women—mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of men like themselves—who, though unalterably opposed to votes for women, nevertheless will never stoop to the vul-

garities of those detestable exhibitions which have made the suffrage "stunt," and the suffrage vanity and brag and bluster, so patent a hissing and a snare. They have been proud to rely upon the courtesy and gallantry and protection of their sons and husbands and brothers and fathers, and they are content to continue doing it now. These good women—real women, we like to call them—do need, however, to bestir themselves in order that the men members of their families and their men friends bestir themselves in turn in order that when the votes for women question comes to be settled in New York it will be settled right. The votes-for-women proposition would force Anti-suffragists as well as Suffragists to vote. That burden, which the Suffragists would load upon all women, is a very heavy burden. So the task of opposing votes for women is a very disagreeable and heavy one. The good women who are satisfied to leave the men members of their families to fight it out with the Suffragists need for their own defense and as a measure of justice to these men to give them every encouragement possible.

"Men do not consider us as human beings," says Reverend Doctor Anna Howard Shaw. "Strange Men that I Have Met" might well be made the subject of a chapter in Miss Shaw's autobiography, which she herself is evidently writing about herself in the Socialist *Metropolitan Magazine*.

"How many frogs," asks an anxious inquirer, "do you think there are in the Suffrage pond?" Can any reader answer?

The suffragist agitators appear to be promising almost everything to denizens

of the East Side. They secure approval for woman suffrage by promising to give "these people" their "freedom." Miss Blackwell's paper confesses as much: "Up and down, down and up," says the suffrage account itself, "rows and rows of the poorest tenements, occupied in the main by Italians of the hurdy-gurdy, push-cart and chestnut-vending class, Poles, Lithuanians and Irish, asking the same questions over and over again, 'Will you vote yes for the suffrage amendment on next election day?' 'Will you give me and all other women in this state our freedom?'—that is what it means to canvas for suffrage in one of the large foreign districts of New York."

Mrs. Edison found at a recent election in West Orange that she could not vote for Mr. Edison. But doubtless the Wizard will easily invent something to get around a little thing like that.

A reader of the *World* calls attention to a part of the suffrage argument advanced as long ago as 1887 by Maclay in his "Budget of Letters From Japan." He says (page 354):

Men, as a matter of courtesy, may unite and agree to give women equal right of suffrage with themselves. But this would not increase the enforcing power of the state at all. Paper money has a purchasing power when it represents gold and silver. * * * If you issue twice as many bills as there is specie in the country, you reduce their purchasing power by one-half. In precisely the same manner a paper ballot represents the political unit behind it. If the voice of the ballot-box be disobeyed, you call out your police force and your armies and enforce its mandate. Man is the power, the coercive force, in the state. Without that implied coercive force your laws become ineffective and ridiculous.

Here is the case against the Suffrage

movement plainly stated. Woman by the aid of the ballot, may proceed to reform man according to her own standards. But will a reform so brought about be effective?

A letter recently printed in the Albany *Knickerbocker-Press* mentions, in a very strong argument against female suffrage, the various experiences of New Zealand, among them the fact that women have now been voting for several years there, and have "not even settled the beer question."

The suffragists declare that the woman's vote for school committee is increasing in Massachusetts. The following table shows how it is "increasing" in Boston:

| Year | Women Voting | Year | Women Voting |
|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 1903 | 13,655 | 1910 | 6,483 |
| 1904 | 8,919 | 1911 | 5,530 |
| 1905 | 9,319 | 1912 | 6,350 |
| 1906 | 7,595 | 1913 | 4,939 |
| 1907 | 7,695 | 1914 | 3,949 |
| 1908 | 4,363 | | |

The list of registered women voters at the present time in Boston is the smallest since 1898. It has decreased 50 per cent since 1903, while the number of women voting has decreased about 70 per cent.

It is Miss Leonora O'Reilly who tells us that if Miss Ida Tarbell were serving a life sentence in our industrial system, she would see this question of votes for women differently.

Cannot something be done for those who are serving life sentences in our industrial system?

One of the feminists, conducting a feminist page in one of the feminist newspapers of New York, commiserates

the woman who relies upon her husband to look out for her, and the feminist literature of feminist publications generally echoes and re-echoes a wail something like this. The feminist, whom the periodicals for some unaccountable reason employ to write, need not worry. The world—this American world, your neighborhood world and ours, your family world and ours—is filled with women who rule their husbands by loving them and serving them, and by men who love their wives the more they work for them and serve them. If the feminist writers are “doing it for effect,” so much the worse for their honesty. If they are ignorant of these realities of the National and neighborhood and home life, then, while their condition may not be pitiful just now, it will be later. They may themselves never even imagine how beautiful are the love and service of millions of American wives—and how beautiful are the work and service and love of millions of American husbands.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett declared at a recent suffrage meeting in Washington that “there are as great obstacles to women’s political and business activities in Virginia as in Turkey. If we are men’s playthings,” she said, “let us have the harem.”

It is a wise teacher of budding suffrage speakers over in New Jersey who has had the vision to advise her pupils never to discuss any question except the suffrage question.

It has become so clear to so many intelligent people that the reason why the professional politicians come out so readily for female suffrage is because they mistakenly suppose it is the stronger

side politically that the phenomenon almost ceases to be a phenomenon and hence need not seriously disturb the confidence of Anti-suffragists or disturb it at all. A clique is organized in a theatre. Half a dozen persons may have some reason for applauding. The other six hundred persons constituting the audience do not express their disapproval, but they are in the audience just the same. The Suffragists are making the noise. They are going through the “stunts.” They make the boasts. Thus, the professional politician quite naturally assumes that “there is nothing to it” but the agitation and the agitators. And that explains why he agrees to support practically every fad or ism that comes along; the agitators and their agitations appear tangible to him, and since he rarely acts from conviction, he might as well agree as disagree, in fact, it is very much easier and seems far safer to agree. Too often he overlooks the fact that however the professional politician may shape his course of action, a vast majority of the voters shape theirs from conviction. They sense the difference between right and wrong, between correct and incorrect, between economic and uneconomic. This very important fact is not now known to all of the office-holders and office-seekers whom the Suffragists are counting upon for votes or for leadership. But it will become quite clear to them later on.

Rev. Percy Stickney Grant believes so strongly in freer divorce that he ought also to be and undoubtedly is one of the leading Feminists of lower Fifth Avenue.

“I don’t know what mother will say,” pleads Rosalie Jones. A number of other girls do not know what mother will say.

As a Man Thinketh

By George Douglas Miller

It tires one to hear of "woman's inferiority" almost as much as it does to see the suffering Suffragette trying to prove, by strenuous word and martyr's deed, her "equality"—when every mother's son of us realizes her superiority. Does any one doubt that, with woman's instinct for housekeeping—of adapting means to ends—of adapting herself to husband and children (differing often as night from day) she could wrestle successfully with municipal housekeeping? Her single-mindedness would alone fit her for the job. No! Woman's ability is not the question before the house of public opinion. The question is—and it admits of no amendment—Why and what are men? and Why and what are women? The world will not go round safely until this question is settled once more—or are we to have a third sex, the he-woman!

The Almighty must have had some definite intent in differentiating men and women. Everybody supposed, until the epoch of Mrs. Pankhurst, that this was in order to distribute the day's work fairly and not to have men and women doing just the same thing. The Yankee housewife, bending wearily over her task from sun to sun and never done, hit the nail on the head when she remarked to an emancipated sister who was orating on the tyranny of man: "Wa'al, if there's one little thing a man can do alone, for heaven's sake let him do it. I hain't got time to vote and settle men's quarrels."

It seems to the writer that the most forceful, fruitful, conserving and inspiring thing on earth is Woman. We men

are, at best, only fighters; contesting for bread and bride, for place and for power. Is there, in truth, much else in a man's life than aggression, defence and competition of some sort, whether in work or in sport? But what the Saxon fights hardest for is to protect from harm or overwork that which he values above all else—his mother, wife and daughter and the home they make for him and the stimulus they are to hold him up to the level of his best thought and purpose.

The mistresses of kings and princes have oftentimes made the history and geography of Europe, Asia and Africa; and such will surely be the fate of America when the New Woman—politician and lobbyist—enters our halls of legislation; for the only thing a woman can't do is to control herself. Partisanship is the curse of church and state. Now woman is a born partisan, sacrificing everything to what her uncompromising, single-hearted, untiring nature clings to. What judge or jury would heed her when her feelings are involved? She doesn't know when she is beaten. Greater self-control is the chief advantage man has over woman. This, and not physical force or idealism or initiative, spells man's authority and makes him "head of the house." And so woman's greatest strength (her intensity) becomes her greatest weakness. The English arsonette and anarchist is a case in point—breaker of all law to prove her fitness as law maker! Even Socialists are not anarchists—though every Socialist's a Suffragist. Inez Mulholland is as brave as she is logical when she claims (read her creed in McClure's Magazine) that liberty and

marriage conflict; and that marriage, as it has been for 1912 years, must be modified, or at least that a woman should leave a man when she wants to. But if so, why should not a man leave his wife when she fades or he finds some one more to his taste? It matters little whether women go through this farce of voting; it matters much—nothing matters more—what sort of women men take to themselves and what their relations are to each other.

We're a mercurial and impulsive people, rushing in where angels fear to tread; but there's a latent "sober second thought" among us, although the devil of hysteria does seem just now to be entering into our national life. We men are beginning to realize how empty is our eager materialism, and are losing some of our moral earnestness; exaggerating rights and minimizing duties; leaving too many of life's responsibilities to women; making often a farce of politics and of religion. In short, the times are out of joint. Having our own way in the battle of life does not make the best men or best citizens. Every man needs a woman's influence and the "constitutional opposition" of our homes keeps us all

straight. But a man will not be bossed outside his home.

Whatever else may go over the brink in the convulsions that must come some day, if our experiment of self-government is to survive and the strained relationships one sees on all sides are to be readjusted, the men of America will cling closest to their most cherished possession—the women who follow the business of being a woman; and we shall be, as we always have been, as wax in the flame of her inspiring devotion to whatsoever is lovely and of good report.

Place aux dames! is not merely a dictum of polite society. We sometimes may not get on well with women, but we cannot get on at all without them, and yet, "man's love is of his life a thing apart; 'tis woman's whole existence." Marriage gives a thrilling career and wonderful evolution to the idle, aimless and often frivolous girl; and yet marriage is no sine qua non. Unmarried women have, from all time, helped and guided men; for women know us so much better than we do them! and "knowledge is power." Their scepter is sex.

Yes, *Sex rules all life*. Only Death disputes its supremacy.

There may be a large and even a growing element of the National Woman Suffrage organization opposed to "Rev." "Dr." Anna Shaw. But the "Rev." Anna holds the floor, and she will say her say. No one ever seriously questioned her militancy. Here it is, votes above everything else."

"I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether all women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

To any one who declares that "woman suffrage is coming," the following votes are respectfully referred:

| State | Year | For Suffrage | Against Suffrage | Majority |
|--------------|------|--------------|------------------|----------|
| Ohio | 1912 | 249,420 | 336,875 | 87,455 |
| Ohio | 1914 | 335,390 | 518,295 | 182,905 |
| Michigan .. | 1912 | 247,375 | 248,135 | 760 |
| Michigan .. | 1913 | 168,738 | 264,882 | 96,144 |
| Wisconsin.. | 1912 | 135,546 | 227,025 | 91,478 |
| Nebraska . | 1914 | 90,738 | 100,842 | 10,104 |
| Missouri .. | 1914 | 182,257 | 322,463 | 140,206 |
| N. Dakota. | 1914 | 40,009 | 49,410 | 9,401 |
| S. Dakota.. | 1914 | 39,605 | 51,519 | 11,914 |

A Woman's Views on the Woman Question

By Laura Fay-Smith

Some time ago there was printed a review of a little book by Floyd Dell called "The World Builders," the synopsis of which was very interesting, and it impels me to offer some considerations of the new Feminism that I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. These thinkers seem to be looking forward to a kind of Feminism which if pushed to its logical outcome promises to make of human society a most uncomfortable affair. For this new cult threatens to erect the woman individual so far above and beyond all law that we can find her prototype only in the Goddess of Reason, worshipped by the Terrorists of the French Revolution.

Now, the majority of thinkers throughout Christendom, along with the no-thinkers, have for ages taken the Ten Commandments as the basis of all law and have considered the seventh of these as the one most imperative to be observed by women. How women could be expected to keep that law, when men are permitted to break it, unpunished, we are not informed. No man can fail in this respect without drawing some woman down into condemnation. Women are now rebelling against this injustice, and cry "Give us an equal standard of morals for both sexes." That is, let society punish the male offender, as it does the female. But, knowing human nature as every mature and well-instructed woman must, can any one believe that men will ever condemn each other for this sin, as women do? Do we not know that men never give away each other's misdeeds of this kind, but *at heart* excuse the woman, too—always excepting those

whom they have married. There are, no doubt, Sir Galahads in the world, but they are conspicuously few! Therefore there is danger that the single standard of morals will lower the woman, rather than elevate the man.

The power that an attractive woman can wield upon the passions of men is marvellous. She can lure them to their ruin with their eyes wide open, and though they are being bamboozled, they love to have it so. The fascinations that draw them out of themselves they will not resist, because there is no bliss in this world equal to the bliss of loving, fleeting, alas! as it too often is.

Let us consider the scope of the new Feminism. First, she is to be under no obligation to her husband. The financial part of the marriage contract provides for her a fixed allowance, or permits her to support herself independently of him.

She must be an absolutely free agent, in all contingencies. He must not presume to influence her in religion, art, politics, household management or dress. If she does not choose to be a mother, he must go without the comforts of children, or imitate Emil Zola, to whose wife children were denied, so he took a mistress who brought him two, and Mme. Zola didn't mind. It is said that at his funeral she and the mistress rode amicably in the cortege. Whether the over-the-left children were in the same carriage with Madame Zola I could not say. Such is the complaisance of the French wife. The status of the married pair being as above stated, one would naturally expect a separate maintenance to follow. What earthly use would a man have for

a joint establishment in which he could have neither care, comfort nor children? For if the wife were supporting herself unaided, obviously her time would be absorbed in such exertion, unless she could devote a part of the evening to entertaining him. Marriage for man under these conditions would be a complete failure, which they would be foolish to risk. *Union* under this system would only be a mockery.

Now, let us consider what women could do in an official capacity. All over the country, not only singly, but in associated effort, they are doing an immense amount for the uplift of humanity, and the amelioration of its conditions, alike in cities and rural communities. It is not too much to say that among American women there is a large amount of executive ability that might be utilized for the benefit of the communities in which they live. There are not wanting instances in the West, where in one case a woman did excellent municipal work as a mayor (or mayoress), while another has been of great service to two western governors in solving the problem of reforming criminals. In Chicago the superintendent of public schools, Mrs. Young, holds the highest educational position held by women in the country, if not in the world, and has been reinstated after having been displaced by a man. For the dissatisfaction of the people at the change was so great that her successor felt obliged to resign, and she was immediately restored to her old position. I might cite other instances did space permit.

One of the prime objections to Woman Suffrage lies in the doubling over of the ignorant vote in the great cities. For this is that vast irresponsible power which has brought American politics

into such disrepute that voters from the other classes can be only with difficulty induced to take their due share in them. To call a man a politician is almost synonymous with branding him as a knave. I fear that that class of educated women in the city who are out for money would for money affiliate with the bosses and grafters, of whom we hear so much, and aid them in their nefarious schemes for what they could make out of it for themselves. We know what the morals of woman politicians were in the days of the French monarchy. And as American women are quite as clever as the French of those days, they would soon organize for plunder, as men have shown them how to do for several generations back. The struggle for a raise in public school teachers' salaries led by Miss Strachan of New York is a case in point. Women are supposed to be constitutionally more honest than men, and perhaps they are so, partly because they are more timid, more sensitive as to their reputation, and we might add, less subject to temptation, for they seldom have the opportunity to launch out into great financial schemes. But given the necessity of money, whether for themselves or those dear to or dependent on them, and I fear they would yield to the temptation to exploit the ballot as men have often done.

Among the numerous claims advanced by the Suffragettes there is one to which they give especial prominence. I refer to the war against White Slavery, which Mrs. Parkhurst and her daughter consider comes particularly into the province of their party. But the Suffragettes, even if armed with the ballot, are no better able to cope with this fearful evil than any other organized body. The Mann White Slave Act confers upon persons working against this all the power

that is needed. To run down the white slaver is one of the most difficult jobs a detective has to manage. The resources of the scoundrels who run this infamous business in the line of secrecy, deception and subterfuge would do credit to the devil himself. The detective must be sure of his facts before an arrest can be made and the criminal be brought before the court, and he risks his life in the undertaking. Only a year or two ago a Christian Science healer was found murdered in her office for interfering with a business of this kind. For men who live by murdering the souls of women in this awful trade would not hesitate to kill the bodies of those opposed to them. I hold that any man or woman white slaver is as much worse than a murderer as a murderer is worse than a thief, and death should be their sentence without hope of appeal.

In conclusion, let us return to the New Feminism. I think no fair-minded American woman will deny that of all the women in the world none have so great a cause for gratitude to men as we have. Wherever we look, in every corner of our share of the world, there stand the evidences of the ingenuity, skill and industry of men, whereby our domestic labors are lightened and our pleasures secured to us. There is no limit to the intelligence that men have expended for our benefit in material things, nor to their liberality in developing our intellectual life and our artistic capacities. It is coming to be acknowledged by foreigners that Americans are idealists. This shows itself in all classes of society, from the magnificent abodes of the magnates down to the simple little homes of

day laborers and mechanics. They all love music. American men have removed the legal oppressions of the old world from our shoulders, and many of them would even grant us the franchise if they were sure that the majority of us desired it. And yet, alas! no women are so ready to throw off the conjugal yoke, or are so unwilling to accept the burden of maternity! Nothing is to me more displeasing than the contemptuous tone of the Suffragettes towards men. Where would those women be without them?

When we consider the splendid work for humanity performed by our women, some of them enormously rich, others with no capital but their brains and an all-abounding love for humanity, one wonders why any woman can be so anxious for "political recognition," as the Parkhurst crowd call it. Women are, of course, as competent to vote as men, though this is not saying much, for there are not too many of them who are fit for voters. But as women have as many responsibilities already as they can efficiently meet, why complicate matters any more for them? One woman like Mother Alphonsa, the head of the Servants of Relief for Cancer, is worth a thousand Parkhursts. I would say to my country women, "Let not the *ignis fatuus* of political ambition deprive us of the chivalrous respect and regard of our countrymen, which has ever been the precious heritage of American women, nor substitute self-development for self-sacrifice, thus bowing down to a monstrous egotism which would end by making society a barren waste."

Mrs. Whitehouse has a Bernard Shaw check which is believed to be worth \$15,

the amount written into it. At all events, this check is for sale at \$15.

Christabel, Militant; Absurd and Unrepentent

"Anti-Suffrage Notes" quotes Miss Christabel Pankhurst as saying: "When the war is over we shall, if we do not obtain what we ask, resume militant methods with as much energy as ever." Miss Pankhurst was a guest at Jane Addams' Hull House while in Chicago.

"Miss Pankhurst comes to us," Professor Kirchwey, of Columbia, said some time ago, "as the representative of the most consistent and whole souled militarist movement with which her country has ever been afflicted. For the Prussian militarism which seems to her

such a terrible menace to civilization is but militancy writ large and adapted to the greater scale of a nation's necessities. The principle animating the two movements is precisely the same—to take what one wants or 'needs' by force."

It is certainly a piece of absurd effrontery, "Suffrage Notes" adds, for these Suffragists to be posing as a "Woman's Peace Party," and it is a serious offense against the peace movement that it should be exploited and made ridiculous by women who are at the same time apologists of militancy and civil war.

How They Make the Press Their Ally

How to make an ally of every newspaper and periodical is explained by the Empire State Campaign Committee of the Suffragists, thus:

"Whenever you see anything about suffrage in print, write the editor a line or a post-card of approval or disapproval. You do not need to write for publication; you do not need to give arguments. Simply say: 'I liked it,' or 'I did not like it';

'You gave a good account,' or 'I do not think you were fair.' Write anything that shows you want suffrage news printed and printed fairly, and that a suffrage public exists.

"If you do this quietly, persistently, and get your friends to do the same, you will set in motion the greatest power for suffrage that exists. The stay-at-home Suffragist will wield an influence we cannot measure."

A most interesting reception was given recently to show that Suffragists could marry and make happy homes.

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Boissevain were there, proving by various public manifestations that they were getting along all right together.

Mr. and Mrs. William Demarest were there, indicating unmistakably that they, too, were happy Suffragists though married.

Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw were there, thus proving conclusively that there was no reason in the world why Smith should have left home.

A *Times* correspondent asks us to note that with woman suffrage we shall have voters who wear straw hats in February

and felt hats in July; and evidently the number of hats to be talked through might thus be doubled.

What Women Have Done without The Ballot

By Hon. Everett P. Wheeler

In considering the question of Suffrage we must discriminate between results and their causes. No one will dispute that in the Suffrage states many good results have been accomplished. The whole world is in motion. In every continent there is a stirring of life and a progressive movement. This began before political Suffrage was granted to women anywhere. In order to decide wherefore Woman Suffrage has done good it is necessary to consider what progress has been made in those states and countries where political Suffrage has not been given to women.

One does not need to go back to the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century or even to the French Revolution. Both these great movements of thought and feeling accomplished important results in the liberation of men and women alike from shackles which had gradually been imposed upon them by oppressive laws or evil customs which had the force of laws. Time and space will not suffice for an examination of the effect of these great movements upon human rights and human opportunities. The American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, the establishment on this side of the Atlantic of a stable government of the people in which, for the first time, personal liberty and protection to person and property were alike secured under a Democratic government, did much to quicken the social consciousness and stimulate aspiration both for men and women.

The underlying principle of the first of these great movements was to secure freedom of conscience; that of the French and American Revolutions was to secure personal and civic rights. Accordingly, we find in the United States, almost from the beginning of the century, a progressive recognition of the right of the mother with reference to her children. The old Roman law, the *patria potestas*, as it was called, gave to the father almost absolute and unlimited control. Before any statutes were passed, either in England or America, the courts began to deal with this subject and to decide that when controversies arose between the father and the mother as to the custody of a child, the real welfare of the child should first be considered. This was the result, not of legislation, but of public opinion. To some extent even the wish of the child was consulted. An anecdote of Chancellor Kent will illustrate this. About 1823 a controversy came before him relating to the custody of a little girl about thirteen years of age. The case was argued by eminent counsel. When the argument was finished the Chancellor took the little girl into his chambers, and after he had gained her confidence said to her: "Who do you wish to go with, my dear?" "With my mother, sir." "So you shall," said the Chancellor. He shortly afterward delivered an opinion which showed that under all the circumstances of this particular case the mother should have the custody of her little girl. Decisions like this multiplied, not only in New York, but in many other states. They

became settled law throughout the United States before 1870.

Then as to the right of property. The common law of England, which in effect merged the property of the wife and that of her husband during the marriage, worked well when the couple were happy and considerate of each other. But sometimes it worked badly. Accordingly, the English lawyers, sanctioned by the English Chancellor, devised a scheme of marriage settlements by which the property of the wife before marriage was conveyed to trustees and the income was paid to her for her separate use, free from the control of her husband. Experience, however, showed that in humble life cases were not infrequent where husband and wife lived unhappily, could not agree, and the husband abused his right to his wife's property and earnings. These had not been dealt with by marriage settlement, because the parties when they married had not property enough to make it worth while, or even to compensate lawyers for drawing settlements. In 1848 New York adopted a statute which gave to a married woman the right to her own earnings separate from the control of her husband. Seven other states promptly followed this example. In none of them has Suffrage been granted to women.

A few years later another statute was passed in New York giving to a married woman the right to carry on business on her separate account free from her husband's control. By an act of equal justice he was exonerated from much of that liability for his wife's debts which the common law of England imposed upon him. Similar statutes were passed in other states. In none of these were women entitled to vote.

This reform legislation was the result of enlightened conscience which was in large measure attributable to intelligent women who saw the evils that existed and brought them to the public attention. There never was a time in America when the words of an intelligent and unselfish woman were not listened to by the men with consideration and respect, and when they did not receive quite as much attention as the same words spoken by men. It is, in fact, one of the distinctive teachings of Christianity that the woman as well as the man is capable of union with God; that each is a separate human soul, and that each, therefore, is entitled to respect so long as it fulfils its distinctive duties. Each has a part to play, and the honor is for the one who performs that part to the best ability. These teachings of Christianity have often been obscured, but never effaced. They have gradually made their way into the conscience of civilized people and by gradual development have led to the recognition of the right of every woman, as well as every man, to opportunity for training, development and usefulness. Side by side with this, and equally distinctive, goes the teaching of mutual obligation. Rights and duties are reciprocal. God has joined them together. Let no man and no woman put them asunder.

Under these reformed conditions let us see what else has been achieved. First for the home. That is the most important. The census of 1910 shows that in that year the population of the United States was 91,972,266. Of these 17,684,687 were married women and 3,176,228 widows, making a total of 20,860,915 women who either were or had been married, and most of whom were the mothers of families. Under

their care there were 38,462,739 children below the age of twenty, about two to each married woman. The census, unfortunately, does not give the size of families in any separate table. Of these married women there were 12,079,566 between the ages of 20 and 45. To them had been born during the previous four years 10,631,364 children. When we take into account the husbands of the married women, we have approximately 77,000,000 persons who live in families. They constitute the great majority. For the happiness of these families and for the nurture and admonition of these 38,000,000 children and young people the women are largely responsible.

As a rule the child that has been well trained at home by the mother, becomes the good man or the good woman. Who has put this better than James K. Hosmer:

"As the patriarch in a household into which have been born a dozen children and grandchildren, I have had good opportunity for study. What so feeble as the feebleness of the babe! It depends upon its mother for its sustenance, almost for its breath and its heart-beats. The sheltering arms and the loving breast must always be at hand as the very conditions of its existence. I have watched in wife and daughters, as what grandsire has not, the persistent, sleepless care which alone kept the baby alive, and noted the sweet effusion of affection which the need and constant care make to flow abundantly, nor do the care and consequent outflow of love cease with babyhood. The child must ever be fed, clothed, trained and counselled; and the youth, too, of which the baby is father, must be watchfully guided until the stature is completed. The rod of Moses smiting the rock evoked the beneficent water. The unrelenting parent-care striking the indifferent heart evokes the beautiful mother and father love which grows abroad. We cannot love children well without loving others, their companions, and at last the great worldly environment in

which they and we all are placed. Hence, from the extension of infancy, through a period of long years, proceeds at last from the hearts which are subjected to its influence, the noble thing which we call altruism; love for others than ourselves and the other high spiritual instincts which are the crown of human nature. The recognition of the extension of infancy as the source from which in our slow evolution comes the brightest thing in the universe belongs to our time. It is perhaps the climax of our philosophic speculation. What more feeble than the snowflakes! But accumulated and compressed they become the glacier which may carapace an entire zone and determine its configuration into mountain and valley. What more feeble than the feebleness of the babe! And yet that multiplied by the million through aeons of time and over continents of space fashions humanity after the sublime pattern shown on the Mount."

What have these homes done for America? I only echo the voice of many wise men, keen observers from other countries, among whom I may specially mention James Bryce, when I say that in no country is there, on the whole, so much happiness as in ours; in none is the home more precious, the family more pure. As the country has grown the exceptions become more numerous, but the proportion of them has not increased. We have had great natural advantages, unsurpassed by any country. We have had free institutions, liberty protected by law. We have certainly, as our President declares at Thanksgiving time every year, been greatly favored by Divine Providence. But the peace and order and prosperity that do on the whole prevail are in large part due to the unselfish devotion of American mothers. This they have accomplished without the ballot, and could not have accomplished had they been burdened with its responsibilities.

Let me quote from a notable article,

"La Femme Arrivée," by Alice Geubel de La Ruelle, a French lawyer, which was published in the Outlook October 4, 1913:

"I have fought my fight and I have succeeded, but I would advise no woman to undertake this struggle for a mere whim of passing fancy; it is only for one whose heart is in her work. Many women take up something just because they are restless and do not know just what to do, and by so doing they give wrong ideas to young girls; they make them almost disgusted with the plain and simple life—with the life that has no excitement in it; and that is a great mistake, a great wrong, in fact. It belongs to *une femme arrivée*, as I have been kindly called, to caution inexperienced girls. I would say to them: 'Do not do as I have done, unless you are forced to it, or feel within you an overmastering impulse to succeed alone.' If conditions are not very fortunate, a woman, no matter how clever she may be, or how strong may be her desire to do something great in the world, can always find an outlet for noble aspirations in being the helpmate of a husband—in helping him 'to arrive'—and that is the ideal condition."

We may emphasize this by adding a quotation from the address of Bishop Gailor, of Tennessee, at the Episcopal General Convention, 1913:

"The test of the power and prosperity of any people is the prosperity and power of the home. The home and family are the most precious possessions of our country."

The suffragist fallacy "is the notion that a people can be made permanently prosperous by legislation." It is easy to say that what is on the statute book is there in black and white and speaks for itself. But this is only the first step. The Constitution of Mexico reads very well. Yet that unfortunate Republic is rent by civil feuds and drenched in fraternal blood and with the blood of massacred citizens of other countries who have gone to Mexico relying upon the promises of its constitution and finding

them illusory. We must consider more than legislation.

Again, it is common in the discussion of this subject to speak with some pride of what has been done in the nine suffrage states. But the entire population of these states is less than that of the State of New York. That has 9,113,779. They have in all only 7,731,541. (The two added last fall bring up the total to only 8,189,469.) So that if we study what women have done without the ballot in the State of New York, we may fairly say that it really counts for more than they have done in these nine suffrage states.

Let us, then, consider the case of New York. Our problems are more difficult, our population more dense and less homogenous. To enable us the better to solve them, as long ago as 1872 the State Charities Aid Association was organized, "to visit State, County, City and Town charitable institutions and secure improvements in their administration by legislation or other means, and to aid in the care of destitute children by placing them in families, by visiting children who have been placed in families, and by such other methods as may prove wise."

The women of New York State were active in creating this association. They have carried on its work with vigor. During the years from 1880 to 1900 there were two of them, Miss Rosalie Butler and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, who were especially effective. It is not too much to say that no citizens of New York City had more influence than they. Their influence was great because they did not have the ballot and did not seek for any salaried public office. Experience shows that a reformer loses influence the moment he is suspected of being in politics for personal advantage. The professional politicians expect this from one another, but they despise it in reform-

ers. These self-devoted women remind us of the words used by Sydney Smith of their prototype, Mrs. Frye, a century ago:

"It is time to go like this blessed woman, and do the work of our heavenly Savior, Jesus, among the guilty, among the broken hearted and the sick, and to labor in the deepest and darkest wretchedness of life."

Far more noble this, far more helpful, than to march in Suffragist processions, to besiege the White House with petitions, or even to make one's voice to be heard in the streets or on the party platform.

Again, the Charity Organization Society of New York City was organized in 1882 at the request of the State Board of Charities. Two of its most important purposes are as follows:

"To promote the general welfare of the poor by social and sanitary reforms, and by the inculcation of habits of providence and self-dependence, and by the establishment and maintenance of any activities to these ends.

"To provide philanthropic education and to promote the training of practical workers in charity."

The work of this society has largely been done by women. The value of this work it is impossible to estimate. One may take up the Charities Directory published by this society, which is now a volume of 1,200 pages, and may read on every page of the part that is taken in New York in every kind of religious and philanthropic work by women who do not need the ballot to fill their lives full with useful activity.

One of the most remarkable departments of this religious and philanthropic work is that of the Social Settlement. Beginning with the Neighborhood Guild (now the University Settlement), in 1886, the College Settlement in 1889 and the East Side House in 1891, we now have in New York City about fifty set-

tlements. Many of these are really social universities and cover the whole ground of training and instruction on the social and domestic side of life from babyhood to maturity. Bishop Potter said of this settlement work:

"If any human agency is to reach, persuade and enlighten the multitudes in our great cities with whom, finally, so largely rests the choice of our rulers, the stability of the republic, and the progress of our civilization, I am increasingly persuaded that it is that which has shown itself to be inspired by a spirit so heroic and distinguished, by methods so singularly wise and so exceptionally successful."

The work of these settlements is largely done by noble, self-sacrificing women.

And now to come a little nearer to what may be called political activity. The cause of Civil Service Reform has been maintained with the most zeal and has been the most successful in the States of New York and Massachusetts. The New York Civil Service law was passed in 1883, the Massachusetts statute shortly after. The Men's Civil Service Reform Associations of these States have found most effective support in Women's Auxiliaries. Experience has shown that when the statutes relating to the merit system were placed upon the statute book we had only taken the first step. The enforcement of this law is a matter of constant vigilance and unceasing endeavor. The temptations of the spoils system are so great, the pretexts for deviating from the straight path of the merit system are so incidious, that it may well be said that the price of this reform, as of many others, is unceasing vigilance. Not only in the law themselves but in their administration these two states are far in advance of any other states of the Union, whether suffrage or non-suffrage.

Again, when we have had to deal in

this state with the subject of workmen's compensation, child labor laws or factory inspection, we men who have done our part in promoting wise legislation on these subjects, and in enforcing it when it has been passed, have found wise and good women laboring at our side, equally effective, equally influential, though they had no ballot. The same may be said of Massachusetts. The child labor and factory laws of that state have been taken as models in some of the Suffrage states. The truth is that the ballot does not make legislation. That is promoted by public sentiment. But the framing of laws should be entrusted to wise students of social conditions. You cannot frame laws in town meeting.

Here, again, the enforcement of statutes is as important as their enactment. The terrible loss of life at the Triangle factory fire was not due to defective legislation, but to neglect in the enforcement of the law. The failure to convict the proprietors of the factory when they were indicted for manslaughter was really due to the fact that the jurors knew well enough that the law was frequently violated and were unwilling to be the means of inflicting imprisonment upon proprietors who did only what many others were doing.

It is very suitable that women who have no domestic ties, of whom there are many, should devote their time and energy to educating public sentiment. Here they can be most useful. Why can they not be content with this, without inflicting the responsibility of the Suffrage upon the great majority of women whose duties call them elsewhere and whose energy and time are already fully occupied with family cares? Most of them keep no servants. About six millions are the wives of farmers. Not one more

burden should be put upon their shoulders.

There is another important branch of legislation in which the good women of New York have co-operated with the men in holding up the standard of public sentiment as to prevent relaxation in the laws relating to divorce. In all the Suffrage states we find these laws lax. In most of them a year's separation between the spouses is practically a sufficient cause for divorce. This means, of course, that either party may terminate the marriage relation at pleasure. He or she has only to quit and flee to one of these Suffrage states, establish a residence there and get a license to marry again at the end of the year. In New York, absolute divorce is permitted only on the ground of adultery. If there is cruelty the courts can deal with that and punish the offender. If it is not fit that two spouses should live together, the judge can regulate the terms upon which they shall live separately. But the license to marry again is given only in case of a most flagrant breach of obligations of the married pair, when it may really be said that they have put themselves asunder, and that the severance of the tie is not the work of the judge but the work of the parties. The judge only declares that it is severed and can no longer continue.

In the matter of commercialized vice, of which so much is said, people seem to forget that this has been a crime in New York for many years and that, long before the present wave of popular excitement on that subject began to flow, indictments were found, convictions had, the guilty parties sent to Sing Sing for terms of years. The Mayoralty election in 1894 turned mostly upon the shocking disclosures which had been brought to light by the Lexow Committee. The

noble women of that day formed a Women's Municipal League and co-operated effectively with the men in that successful campaign. Conditions in New York City have never since been as bad as they were in the year 1894.

When the "Vice Trust" is spoken of it must not be forgotten that when this was brought to light in New York City in 1913 it was found that two of the four persons at its head were women. The four were indicted, but fled the state before they could be arrested. "The madams" who kept their wicked houses were women. The Suffragist cry on this subject is based on the false assumption that all women are weak and innocent, and all men are strong and wicked. Both these assumptions are false, as all experience shows, and as Judge Lindsey himself, the famous Suffragist judge, has recently been obliged to admit.

Any one who has followed closely the political morality of New York since 1870 will concede that there has been a distinct advance. The venality, not only in legislatures and civic councils but among the voters, has to a great extent been suppressed. Much yet remains to be done, but we can thank God and take courage. In the days of the Tweed Ring, New York was probably the worst governed city in America. To-day it is one of the best. When the commission government is praised, it should be remembered that New York City is practically under a commission government. The real power is in the hands of the Civic Senate, called the Board of Estimate. The majority vote of this board is cast by the Mayor, the Comptroller and the President of the Board of Aldermen, who are elected by the citizens of the whole city. The remaining votes are cast by the Presidents of the Boroughs. The streets are better cleaned and better lighted; the houses of

the poorest are more comfortable and more sanitary; the police is more efficient; the piers are ample and convenient. The death rate has been cut in half in fifty years. In all this work of social betterment and in developing the sentiment which has made it possible, the wise and good women of New York have taken an importance part. Here, again, their influence has been greater because they were known to be unselfish. They did not seek office or political power, but solely the good of the men, women and children who compose our great community. This sort of influence is really the direct influence. The ballot at its best in a representative government is only indirect. You run only one chance out of two that you get what you want.

There is one other point to which reference is often had, for which we take just pride in the legislation of the State of New York. We have never listened to the cry for "recall of officials with particular reference to the judiciary," nor to the cry for "the recall of judicial decisions," which simply means a submission to the vote of a temporary majority of a decision arrived at by judges after long discussion and careful consideration. If the women of the Suffrage states have succeeded in carrying, as stated by their advocates, these shameful laws, let us be thankful that our women in New York have been wiser, and have not worked for such mischievous schemes, and that the men have been wise enough to maintain the sanctity of judicial decisions and the respect due to the bench against every temporary outcry of passion. Under our laws if a judicial decision on the Constitution is not in accordance with the deliberate judgment of the people, it can be changed as the constitutional provisions in reference to workmen's compensation acts have just been changed. If

judges are criminals or commit crime deserving impeachment, they can be impeached and removed, as they have been. The same power exists, as we have shown within a year in the case of the Governor. But we rightly reserve to our public officials, whether executive or judicial, protection against gusts of popular passion. The women of New York without the ballot have seconded the men in maintaining this wise legislation under which our state has achieved its present prosperity. They are thankful that the heat and hysteria which have generally accompanied the exercise of the suffrage by women in the Suffrage states have not come into our political life.

We are told of "the prairie-fire sweep of Equal Suffrage." Well, we all know the prairie-fire. It burns hot for a day or two and then dies out, leaving ashes behind it. The simile is not bad.

And if we are to deal with compari-

sons, let us recall the story of Napoleon. "History is philosophy teaching by example." Let us profit by its lessons. Napoleon at first embodied the principle which was at the root of the French Revolution. He abolished the feudal privileges and restrictions which kept the majority of men in a strait-jacket. He gave not only to France but to all Europe a code of equal civil rights. And he rose to the height of his power. But when he aimed at domination, he began to fall, and lost both power and glory in the snows of Russia and the field of Waterloo.

The Feminist movement will have the same career. So long as it was directed to securing equal civil rights and opportunities for women, it was right, and it succeeded. Its leaders now are not satisfied. They want political power and aim at domination. They are fighting against natural law. They also will find their Moscow.

THE REPLY does more than sympathize with those anti-suffrage men who wish the true anti-suffrage doctrine distributed everywhere except in their own homes, where they fear to start a discussion. We will enable them all to subscribe for THE REPLY just the same and have it sent to others besides the members of their immediate families.

At a recent election at Hastings-on-Hudson, three hundred women were eligible to vote, and three voted; which must clearly mean, even according to the highly imaginative suffragist arithmetic, that exactly one per cent of the devoted women of Hastings-on-Hudson voted who were entitled to exercise that sacred and necessary right.

Mrs. Blatch's additional information with reference to the justly celebrated conversion of General Joffre was evidently deleted entirely by the censor.

Miss Elizabeth Marbury denies that she is a suffragist, wishing, no doubt, to have her friends know that she has a clear conscience.

All Suffragists need to look out for the Suffragette reporter of the *N. Y. Tribune*. She has been caught dissembling.

The Kaiser keeps right on just as if he hadn't learned that Eat-em-alive Emmeline had joined the Allies.

How a Beautiful Feminist Analyzes the Ida Sniffen Case

No one needs to be mystified any longer with regard to the Ida Sniffen-Rogers-Walters case. Inez Milholland has analyzed it for the New York *American*. She says in various places, deliberately, as it seems:

"I doubt very much whether the sensitive woman in Lebanon Hospital" (in jail now)—"a woman so sensitive that she refused to touch a penny of her boy-husband's money, because she was accused of having married him for money alone—could ever have done the mad thing that she did, could ever have violated the mother-love within her, except under pressure of a great and torturing fear, the fear of having her children pronounced illegitimate.

"Society has terrorized mankind on this subject, but society has neglected its own duties in regard to it. When desperate women, made mad by the thought of agonies to come to their fatherless little babies, have taken the lives of those babies, then we talk about punishing them 'to the limit of the law,' for an act for which the brutality of society itself is at least in part to blame.

"In a case like the present, where the deed is not denied, no trial at all would be necessary. Having adjudged the defendant guilty, the court should never

pronounce sentence, but send the defendant to a detention home (to be built and equipped by the state) for observation over an extended period by men and women trained to observe—medical experts, neurologists, alienists, psychologists.

"One other thing—or rather two: first, we must get rid of this social stigma upon illegitimacy. The little child is never to blame, and must be made welcome among us and provided for.

"Either the father must provide for the illegitimate baby, or the state by a universal system of mothers' pension must provide for every mother and child, legitimate or illegitimate, and is done in Finland, thanks to the women of Finland who voted that law into existence.

"Second, women must be trained, equipped, taught how to earn their own living so that they themselves can support the child if they desire to do so rather than avail themselves of a pension.

"Had any one of these conditions obtained I venture to believe that the little babies so pitifully dead would be alive to-day. A woman, a mother, even though she be deserted, finds it easier to face the world if she is independent of that world."

The degeneracy of the suffragist *New York Tribune* has evidently set in. An item creeps into the news columns of that paper to the effect that 150 ardent workers of the woman suffrage party drank to the success of the cause in huge steins of beer at an East-Side restaurant and then knocked on the table for more.

It was quite natural, after the suffrage exhibition where various Suffragists and their husbands appeared upon the platform together just to show that they could be happy though suffs, for the suffragists of Pittsburgh to have a show of suffragist babies, just to prove that these could be babies though suffs.

"God Save Her from the Evil of the Street"

The member from Texas, Mr. Dies, did not hesitate to express in comprehensible English his reasons for opposing woman suffrage.

"I beseech the mothers of this country," he said, "to turn a deaf ear to the shouts of the Suffragettes. Their song is that of the siren to tempt you from your homes and God-appointed spheres of life. We need you in the home, mothers of America, to train the youth of the land and shed your tender influence over all the world. In your exclusive dominion you have made free government possible, and while you are content to reign there you can make it perpetual. You are not defenseless, as these agitators tell you, for your sons are in the camp and in the Cabinet, behind the guns and in the Congress. Your kindly care has made them strong and brave

and true. They are your refuge in the day's mad strife and conflict, and you and your home are to be their refuge when the evening's shadows draw a truce. I have no taunts or gibes for the erring sister who is clamoring for suffrage; I may even admire the masculine vigor with which she howls against her imaginary wrongs. But I love to turn to that other more gentle and, in my opinion, more useful woman described by the Psalmist:

"She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; and her husband also he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

"God save her from the cavil of the street and keep her for the councils of the home."

It seems that Christabel has reached London safely, having made considerable deposits in the First National Bank; and if this clever young lady keeps on long enough, she will doubtless be able to rival Mamma Pankhurst in exciting a responsive financial enthusiasm "made in the U. S. A."

"Our women folks who are so mightily engaged for new extensions of their rights," says the New York World, "might perhaps profitably give some attention to establishing real rights which legislation under the direction of mere man has not usually been disposed to deny."

Miss Alice Paul again comes before the curtain to announce that now, as always, the Congressional Union will hold the Democratic party to a strict account in the next Congress as in the last.

A Socialist speaker declares that Hon. Elihu Root belongs to the Stone Age, and he may, indeed, prove to be the rock on which the shallop of Suffragism and Socialism may split.

We Anti-Suffragists, writes "Mt. Vernon," from Baltimore, appreciate very much what you are doing to distribute good, strong, con-

vincing literature against votes for women. We do hope that you will extend the work as fast as possible.

Dare We Risk It—A Sexless Government?

"Every man in this state," writes a New Yorker to the *Sun*, "is now called upon to consider calmly and gravely the question of extending the suffrage to women. That question can no more be considered apart from our relations with the rest of the world than the question of preserving the gold standard could properly have been considered as a question unaffected by the practices of other nations."

"Mr. Bryan urged, with wordy eloquence, that we should adopt the double standard without waiting for the consent of any other nation of the world. It is fortunate that the men of this Nation had the common sense to think differently. So now, when we are asked to turn the destinies of this Nation over to the joint control of its men and its women we may well pause to look around at the nations of Europe and Asia and ask if it be prudent for us to take this step, a step so irretrievable; one which

promises so little gain and threatens so much danger.

"It is not the suffrage itself that threatens. The indirect results are momentous. The women who demand the suffrage want to bring about such results. They aim to destroy the mastery of men; their ideal is that of equality of the sexes; the man and the woman are to be equal in their rights, their privileges, their duties. They expect the women to serve in public office. Already they acclaim the selection of a woman state senator in Arizona, another in Oregon, a woman police judge in Los Angeles, a woman commissioner of charities in New York, a woman mayor in some other city, and so forth.

"If woman suffrage is to become general in this country it is inevitable that our public life will become permeated with the effeminate influence, we shall be indeed a government as well as a nation of men and women, as the believers in woman suffrage confidently expect.

"Dare we risk it?"

Mrs. Wood's Business-Like Way

Mrs. S. S. Wood, of Passaic, author and former Suffragist, was, two years ago, one of the most ardent supporters of "the cause." She entered into a sensational controversy with the Board of Education, which refused permission to the Passaic Equal Suffrage League for a Sunday suffrage meeting in the

high school to be addressed by Mrs. Belmont. Since then she has changed her mind and is with the antis. She is advertising in the Passaic papers for "all men and women not in favor of granting the elective franchise to women" to communicate with the antis' headquarters, 77 Pennington avenue.

High Time for the Men to Help

Mary P. S. Hazard, president the Rhode Island Association opposed to Woman Suffrage, writes:

My position is best represented by a conversation I once had when appearing in opposition. A Suffragist said to me:

"What are you doing here? I thought Anti-Suffragists believed in staying at home."

"They do," I said, "and we are fighting for a chance to stay there."

It is a rather anomalous position to have to fight in order to avoid fighting, and it is high time men came to our rescue.

All the Socialists for Votes for Women

Meyer London, the lone Socialist Representative in Congress, announces that he will occupy his time before the opening of the new Congress in an active campaign for woman suffrage in New York until Election Day.

"I will carry on a whirlwind campaign for woman suffrage," Mr. London says, "under the auspices of the Wom-

an's Committee of the Socialist party. There will be many women agitators to assist me in this work, but I will devote attention to urging the voters throughout the state to cast an overwhelming vote for woman suffrage. All of the Socialist forces of the state will be concentrated on the woman suffrage amendment proposal."

Why Socialists Are Suffragists

In the present momentous issue, when all Socialists proudly announce themselves as Female Suffragists, contending that female suffragism cannot succeed without their help, it is well to recall what Socialism, in the utterances of its leaders really means. Here is what they say:

Frederick Engels: "Three great obstacles block the path of social reform—private property, religion and the present form of marriage."

Belfort Bax. "We ought to combat by every means within our power the metaphysical dogma of the inherent sanctity of the monogamic marriage principle."

August Bebel: "Man and woman be-

ing animals, can we talk of matrimony on indissoluble bonds?"

Mrs. Ethel Snowden: "Under Socialism the marriage service will probably be a simple declaration on the part of the contracting parties before the civil representative of the state."

William Morris: "A new development of the family would take place * * * an association terminable at the needs of either."

George Bernard Shaw: "Unless woman repudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law, and to every one but herself, she cannot emancipate herself. Therefore woman has to repudiate duty altogether."

Meantime, please remember that woman suffrage has been defeated in the legislatures of Minnesota, Indiana, Texas, Vermont, Delaware and Maine, states where the legislatures, having doubtless sworn to support the Constitution when they took their oaths, failed not to do their duty.

Mr. Adolph Lewisohn has only done his duty poorly, it seems, as a member of the Republican City Committee, as he does not know the difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties. So he urges women to learn about politics, and evidently he thinks it would be easy.

Indirect influence is often far more successful than that which is direct.—*F. W. Robertson.*

A Long Island suffragist has lost her dog. Votes for women!

Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Corrupt and Corrupting

"As an example" (of Female Suffragism in Wyoming), writes "An Old Wyomingite," "allow me to give two instances from my own personal experience. At one time, in a closely contested election, we bought and voted 1,250 votes for about \$2,500. This is not to say that we bribed anybody—we paid their poll taxes, gave them a ride to the polls and furnished them with our tickets, neatly folded, which they voted.

"They claim that women voting will surely purify our elections, but the last but one election in Wyoming was one of our worst, and in Colorado, with women voting, they have had the vilest politics they have ever had. It is my strong belief that if one could poll the vote of every woman in Wyoming honestly, woman suffrage would be voted down to-day.

"The most dangerous 'rock ahead' of our ship of state to-day is our universal male suffrage in ignorant hands, and it is clear to me that to extend the suffrage as proposed must of necessity greatly increase that danger. This, and this alone, is to me an all-sufficient argument against Female Suffrage as asked for to-day. I write from experience.

"Many of us who have lived many years of our manhood in Wyoming do not forget the old days of 'the frontier.' It was in those old days, when honest women were few and far between, when the whole population was strung out along the Union Pacific Railway, and when Julesburg moving to Cheyenne was described as 'Hell on wheels,' that woman suffrage was voted by perhaps the most corrupt legislature we ever had."

To Herself

From the Wappingers Chronicle

Herself is a suffragette,
And so are we, you can bet.

Of talk of sich she is abrimmin;
We also vote for Votes for Wimmin.

She tells us that, and we agree
That she should vote as well as me.

She takes a crack at ogre, Man;
We acquiesce to any plan.

In fact, we could commit a murder,
If we her plans could only further.

We wither when she casts her spleen
Upon this meek and hairless bean.

We men are like a flock of geese,
And I say yes to keep the peace.

We'd do most any little thing
Her millenium to bring.

We do not like to wash the dishes;
We do 'em 'cause they are her wishes.

And keeping track of Marian
Is a full-sized job for any man.

We bake the bread, and scrub the floor,
And do a thousand things and more.

In fact, we are (and that's no joke),
Sound, gentle, kind and well house-broke.

We do these things when She's away
Attending to some Suffrage tay.

We're apt to grumble now and then,
And lowly murmur, Votes for Men.

Herself, she is a Suffragette,
And so are we; we suffer yet.

How They Lose the Confidence of Many

THE REPLY agrees with "E. E. A." that men like Governor Whitman and Mayor Mitchel, and women like Miss Julia Lathrop, head of the Children's Bureau at Washington, have a perfect moral right to entertain such views as to the Woman Suffrage question as they please. But it is a question whether, as Governor, Mayor or leader in the Children's Bureau work at Washington, these various officers of the Government, state, municipal or Federal, have a right, as such officers, to propagandize for any such cause, for the reason that it is not a cause which they were elected or appointed to promote, and for the still better reason that they cannot possibly be as efficient as the public has a right to expect them to be if their predilections or prejudices are given full swing, for in that event they cannot have the confidence of all the people, and that is because they cannot possibly represent them all. Governor Whitman is a Female Suffragist. This is

notorious. The Governor's wife has announced that the doors of the Executive Mansion at Albany swing inward, or stand wide open, for the Female Suffragists. By just as much, then, the State Administration loses the confidence of a large and respectable part of the community, and the Governor cannot be so good a representative Governor as otherwise, and his good wife cannot help him as much as she ought to be able to do. Mr. Mitchel, being a less aggressive candidate for any of the Presidential nominations in 1916, hasn't yet entirely lost the confidence of Anti-Suffragists, and Miss Lathrop, being neither married nor eligible for the Presidency as yet, may be still freer to stand or fall on her activities. We insist just as positively, however, that this lady would be a far more useful officer of the Federal Government if she were at the head of the Children's Bureau without making public her prejudice for or against votes for women.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the super-dreadnought of the Congressional Union, has asked the Panama Exposition managers at San Francisco to give her a week of the exhibition program for the suffrage campaign. Mrs. Belmont plans "some strenuous stunts" if this permission is granted. Being very friendly to

Mrs. Belmont, we warn her that Secretary Houston of the Department of Agriculture has ruled that owing to the foot and mouth disease circuses cannot go from state to state, or, to be more specific, the camel, the giraffe, the bison, the zebu and the llama must remain where they are.

"The copy of THE REPLY that was sent to me," writes a Buffalo subscriber, "fills me with such unbounded joy that in spite of the fact that I have other

anti literature and ought not to indulge in any more I must enclose my subscription for a supply of your delightfully active, or, as I might say, almost militant publication."

The Reverend Shaw tells us that the crux of the suffrage question in November will be, "Are you going to vote for

woman suffrage, or aren't you? Or, in other words, "Is you ain't, or ain't you is?"

All for the Protection of the Wife

"Sex rights in money," observes the New York Times editorially, "seldom require to be determined judicially until, alas! every other way is hopelessly impossible. Each case seems to be one of special experience, as of course it is, and generally the woman supposes beforehand that man-made law on the subject is, will be, and was intended to be unfair.

A Supreme Court Justice at White Plains, deciding a case in equity wherein creditors sought to reach property which the man had transferred to his wife on the ground that it represented her earnings, held for the creditors and reaffirmed the principle of common law that a wife's services and earnings belong to her husband. According to the court reporter's story, a group of Suffragists, on hearing the decision, were deeply agitated and went "scurrying to the Supreme Court library to investigate precedents." The justice was afterward surprised to learn that his decision had produced any excitement. He said the law was very old. It is.

Under the common law, upon which our statute law is founded, the services of a wife belong to her husband. His rights, however, have been modified in this State by various statutes—all in the interest of the woman. It is provided in the law of New York that a married woman has every right "to carry on any business, trade or occupation and to exercise all powers and enjoy all rights in respect thereto, as if she were unmarried." Under this law it has been decided that "the earnings of a wife from

services rendered to a third party, distinct from the common law duties she owes her husband in the martial relation, belong to the wife, and she is entitled to recover therefor." The word occupation in the statute is construed to cover work for wages.

There are exceptional cases. Where the wife performs services for a third party under contract made by the husband, or where their earnings commingle in one household, the matter becomes somewhat complicated. In any case of doubt, "the husband may forego his right to his wife's earnings, and unless done in fraud of creditors the property she acquires with his knowledge and assent, whether in the household or outside, vests in her." A contract by a husband to pay his wife for household services is void as against creditors, and property transferable to her on such contract may be reached by creditors. But all of that is a matter of intent. In the simple and customary case the earnings of a wife from services performed for a third party, that is to say, from work performed for others than her husband, are hers alone. She may do with them as she likes, and property acquired by her with such money of her own is safe from the husband or his creditors.

That is man-made law. The wife may earn money and put it beyond the husband's reach. He has no claim against it for himself. He cannot require the wife to support him out of her means. He must support her out of his. He cannot legally segregate his earnings beyond her legal reach.

As to the recent brilliant affair in the Grand Central Palace, it was of course

a mere man who called it the Suffrage Bawl.